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Young People's Drinking Spaces and Im/Mobilities: A Case of 'Hyper-Diversity'?

This paper draws on a 'palette' of interdisciplinary methods to explore young people's alcohol consumption practices and experiences in the hyper-diverse suburban locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, Manchester, UK. This paper contributes to literature on the emerging theme of hyper-diversity by exposing the heterogeneity of young people's drinking experiences, with a focus on bars, pubs, streets and parks. I demonstrate how young people's inclusion and exclusion from such spaces is bound up with the traditional identity markers of age, gender and class, alongside more performative, embodied, emotional and affective aspects; for instance, the atmospheres, smell and soundscapes of particular drinking spaces. More than this, the paper enhances understandings of hyper-diversity by elucidating the ways in which young people's everynight alcohol-related mobilities and diversity interpenetrate each other. Through analysing young people's alcohol consumption practices and experiences, I show how young people are hyper-diverse in terms of their alcohol-related lifestyles, attitudes, and activities.

Keywords: Alcohol; Drinking Spaces; Hyper-Diversity; Mobilities; Young People

Introduction

'Hyper-diversity' is closely aligned with the notion of 'super-diversity', a term encapsulating the idea that cities are now experiencing a new level and degree of complexity and fluidity in terms of ethnicities, countries of origin, gender and age profiles, and socio-economic differences (Arnaut, 2012; Vertovec, 2007). Hyper-diversity is distinct though, in focussing on 'intense diversification of the population in socio economic, social and ethnic terms, *but also with respect to lifestyles, attitude and activities*' (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013, p.6, emphasis added). To date, much hyper-diversity literature has been preoccupied with cities (van Kempen, 2013). With a focus on European cities, Tasan-Kok et al. (2013) explore how people in a hyper-diversified urban society live together and how urbanites, residents as well as entrepreneurs, can profit from such hyper-diversification. Additionally, drawing on research conducted in Helsinki and San Francisco, Pyyry and Tani (2017) take a posthuman viewpoint, in which they grant agency to the material world, to explore the city itself as playing an important role in creating difference, and making space for, diverse ways of being. In this paper, I aim to tease out, and extend, the applicability of the term 'hyper-diversity'. In order to do so, I draw on young people's experiences of their drinking geographies in two socio economically diverse

suburban case study locations, Chorlton and Wythenshawe, Manchester, UK. This paper advances hyper-diversity debates through a focus on previously neglected suburban realms. I also seek to redress the skewed concentration on young people's everyday hyper-diversities (e.g. Visser, 2017) through focusing on the activity of alcohol consumption and 'everynight' hyper-diversities.

Moreover, this paper contributes to hyper-diversity scholarship by demonstrating how traditional identity categories, for instance class, gender, and age, emerge through the analysis, often alongside performative, emotive or materialised markers. This is an important contribution, as much research on diversity has not moved beyond a consideration of key identity markers, such as ethnicity and race (see, for example, Amin, 2002; Vertovec, 2007). Moreover, in this paper, I move beyond the academic preoccupation with treating drinking spaces as static and bounded (Jayne et al., 2012), to show how drinking mobilities in, through, and beyond, suburban drinksapes are intertwined with ideas surrounding separation and segregation with older adults, yet also notions of civility. In doing so, I demonstrate that a concern for everynight mobility can develop current work on hyper-diversity. This paper also makes a methodological contribution to debates surrounding hyper-diversity. I argue for the benefits of deploying a 'palette of interdisciplinary methods' (Mason, 2006, p. 13), including: interviews, peer interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, and participant observation, when researching 'with' hyper-diverse young people. This suite of methods can enable hyper-diverse young people to communicate with the researcher 'on their own terms' (Leyshon *et al.*, 2013, p.180). In this paper, I aim to demonstrate that the conceptual framework of hyper-diversity offers a tentative explanation of how drinking spaces can evoke a very specific set of emotional and affective registers, which can vary greatly between individuals (Jayne et al., 2010). That

is, whilst some young people can be enveloped by enjoyable affective atmospheres in drinking spaces, others are affectively pushed out of space.

Drinking Spaces: Towards Hyper-Diversity

Bars and pubs can be considered important hyper-diverse ‘micro spaces’ which allow young people to disrupt familiar patterns, and form new attachments (Peterson, 2017). The micro-scale of such drinksapes may compel people to confront and interact with others, thereby assisting them in ‘learning to become different’ (Amin, 2002, p. 970). Writer on the night-time economy, Hollands (2002), examines the complex relationship between labour market divisions and cultural identities in the night-time economy. According to the author, although minority elements of ‘hybrid’ forms of identity and consumption exist, they are overshadowed by the dominance of a ‘mainstream’ form of nightlife provision that segregates young people into particular spaces and places (Hollands, 2002). The tale of young people’s drinking practices and experiences in pre-formed commercial drinksapes thus seems to be predominantly one of segregation, as opposed to integration.

Authors, internationally, have now begun to engage with young people’s drinking practices and experiences in outdoor drinksapes, such as parks and streets. In the UK, streets are important drinking spaces for young people who may not be permitted to consume alcohol in their home (or others’ homes), for instance due to being below the legal drinking age, or being forbidden to consume alcohol in licensed premises (again, due to being underage, or barred) (Galloway, Forsyth, and Shewan, 2007). Exclusion plays a role in decisions to drink outside; yet outdoor locations have a distinct appeal as places to consume alcohol (Galloway et al., 2007). Outdoor locations enables young people the opportunity to smoke cigarette, or take drugs, whilst consuming alcohol (Galloway et al., 2007). In Spain, street drinking (known as *botellón*) draws anything between a few dozen to over one thousand young people on any one

night (Perez-Fragero, 2008). Reasons young people cite for participating in *botellón* include expensive drinks prices in bars and clubs; that the practice is fashionable; and that you can be in the open air (Perez-Fragero, 2008). *Botellón* is causing friction in Spain, partially due to fact that young people are not spending money in local bars and restaurants, and due to the noise generated (Chatterton, 2002). Further, Demant and Landolt (2014) explore young people's 'club street drinking' (drinking on the street within the vicinity of nightclubs), and 'square street drinking' (drinking in public spaces away from nightlife areas). Concerning 'club street drinking', the authors contend that nightlife outside nightlife areas is segregated; that is, different young people and different subcultures meet at different locations. On the other hand, 'square street drinking' provides an example of the merging and mixing of diverse uses and interpretations of the square, by different groups, which are at odds with each other. 'Square street drinking' is thus in line with Peterson's (2017) contention that the street is an example of a space where different lifeworlds overlap, because different groups frequent and rely on the same spaces for different activities.

Parks have conventionally been considered fundamental arenas for the negotiation of urban diversity; however, Peterson (2017) contends that they do not typically encourage social interaction. In the context of the UK, Russell, Lewis, Matthijsse, and Mason (2011) highlight the importance of open green space for young people's drinking practices, as they are out of sight of police and parents. One participant in Russell et al.'s (2011) UK study expressed a preference for these spaces in contrast to play parks, noting that he would not wish young children to see him drinking in case it inspired them to try alcohol. From this perspective, parks can be considered arenas for the demonstration of consideration, and thoughtfulness, towards others. On the other hand, some participants in Townshend and Roberts' (2013) study comment on the perceived dangers of consuming alcohol in parks, asserting that it may lead to being attacked, injured, or taken advantage of sexually; there were particular concerns about being

unable to summon help, if in danger. The authors show that there is an unwillingness of some young people, particularly women, to go to parks where street drinkers can dominate, or intimidate. Thus, whilst parks may be an example of what Amin (2002, p. 959) would term a ‘micro public’; that is, a space of everyday contact and encounter, parks in relation to young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences can also be spaces of exclusion. This paper now turns to show how engaging with im/mobilities is a key way of furthering discussions of hyper-diversity.

Young People, Im/Mobilities, and Hyper-Diversity

Young people have become a recent focus within the ‘mobilities paradigm’ (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Skelton (2013) has made clear that young urbanites are of an age where mobility is crucial in order to take advantage of the resources, recreation and sociality offered by urban spaces. Skelton and Gough (2013) contend that this is an important aspect of ‘growing up’, and identity formation. McAuliffe (2013) is keen to remind us that young people are subject to manifold micro-politics of mobility and immobility that differentiate their experiences of urban spaces from the experiences of adults; for instance, young people may find themselves excluded, and/or moved on, from certain spaces. Mobilities research then, as Sheller (2011) suggests, should not only pay attention to physical movement, but also potential movement, blocked movement and immobilisation.

A concern for everyday mobility can develop current work on hyper-diverse spaces, although literature exploring the intersection of hyper-diversity and im/mobility is scarce. There are, however, a few notable exceptions. For instance, Tasan-Kok et al. (2013), with a focus on European cities, contend that there is more than the local place and space: people move between many places, and these mobilities can be important for an individual’s social life. Further, Warren (2017) explores the embodied experiences and socio-spatial practices of Muslim

women in the city of Birmingham, UK, to investigate the ways in which walking practices intersect with social difference, particularly in relation to faith, ethnicity and gender. Moreover, Wilson (2011) draws on ethnographic research to explore how intercultural relations are developed, destroyed and remade in the practice of everyday bus passengering. The author discusses bus travel as sites of tolerated intimacy of both strangers and difference, and as a space in which it is possible to partake in conversations across differences. In the context of Auckland neighbourhoods, Witten et al. (2017) explore children's everyday mobile encounters and affective relations with place through a hyper-diverse lens. Taken together, these studies on diversity demonstrate that key markers of identity, for instance, ethnicity and gender, cannot be separated from more emotional, embodied and affective aspects.

Alcohol-related mobilities have recently been explored by Duff and Moore (2015) in Melbourne's night-time economy. The authors explore the atmospheres of mobility for young people residing in the inner city who take trams, walk or cycle to nearby venues, along with young people from periurban communities. According to Duff and Moore (2015), inner-city participants described 'fun', 'comfortable' journeys, whereas participants from periurban communities spoke of 'boring', 'unpleasant' journey. The more congenial atmospheres described by inner-city young people seemed to mitigate the likelihood of problems, such as violence; whereas the atmospheres of boredom and unpleasantness described by periurban young people appeared to increase the potential for harm. Here then, short-distance mobilities have the potential to facilitate positive encounters in urban spaces, whereas longer-distance mobilities can lead to negative encounters. Jayne et al.'s (2012) research, into the alcohol-related mobilities and experiences of young backpackers in Australia, elucidates that alcohol can help to soften a variety of (un)comfortable embodied and emotional materialities linked with budget travel. For instance, alcohol consumption can act as an aid to 'passing the time' and 'being able to do nothing'; it can also heighten senses of belonging with other travellers

and the ‘locals’. Jayne et al.’s (2012) research suggests that alcohol-related mobilities are able to facilitate positive encounters with diverse populations (both locals and travellers). The work of Duff and Moore (2015) and Jayne et al. (2012) point to the notion that engaging with im/mobilities is a key way of developing discussions surrounding hyper-diversity.

Researching Hyper-Diversity

I conducted the research on which this paper is based in the suburban case study locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe. Suburban locations were chosen due to a pre-occupation in the substance use literature with cities, typified by a large body of work on the night-time economy (Holloway et al., 2008). Chorlton and Wythenshawe were chosen, in particular, due to the differences in ethnic diversity, socio-economic status, educational attainments, and drinking micro-geographies between, and within, the areas.

Case Study Locations

Wythenshawe was created in the 1920s as a Garden City in an attempt to resolve Manchester’s overpopulation and depravation in its inner-city slums. It continued to develop up to the 1970s, however the 1980s and 1990s saw a steady decline, high unemployment, decaying infrastructure, crime, and problems with drug misuse (Atherton et al., 2005). Wythenshawe is eight miles south of Manchester city centre, and faced with relatively poor transportation links (Lucas et al., 2009). There are distinct neighbourhoods within Wythenshawe, along with a town centre with various shops, supermarkets, hairdressers, pubs and a club. Numerous pubs have shut down in recent years; yet in existing pubs, CCTV is in abundance (Pubs of Manchester, 2012). In addition to commercial drinking spaces, Wythenshawe has 12 parks and 18 woodland areas, which provide young people with opportunities for outdoor drinking. Wythenshawe was

the outdoor filming location for the Channel 4 series *Shameless*ⁱⁱ, which included shots of the local tower-blocks, and housing estates.

Chorlton, on the other hand, is a residential area approximately five miles from Manchester city centre. It is a cosmopolitan neighbourhood with traditional family areas alongside younger, vibrant communities. The area has good road and bus access to, and from, the city centre, and it is situated within easy access to the motorway network. Chorlton is renowned for having a more bohemian feel than other parts of Manchester; it has a large number of independent bars and pubs, yet no club (Manchester Bars, 2017). The drinking venues are popular with both students and young professionals, and include a mix of traditional pubs, and modern bars (Manchester Bars, 2017). Bars often have some form of music, including live bands, and are considered to have a relaxed door policy (Manchester Bars, 2017). The distinct drinking venues within, and between, the areas demonstrates that suburban drinking spaces are neither uniform nor homogenous, and that this heterogeneity warrants further analysis.

Recruitment

I recruited 40 young people, aged 15-24, for multi-stage qualitative research. This sample size was large enough to gain a diversity of viewpoints. Yet, as the research was multi-method, and longitudinal, spanning the course of 12 months (September 2013-September 2014), this sample size also allowed for a depth of insight. Academic definitions of ‘youth’ typically focus on an age range of 16-24 (Evans, 2008). I specifically chose to recruit 15-24 year olds. This is because 15 year olds are in the same school year as their 16 year old friends, for example, and therefore it was more inclusive to be slightly flexible with the age categories, particularly for methods such as the peer-interviews. Moreover, being longitudinal research, over the course of one year, my participants would experience birthdays, and would thus be within this age classification at some point during the study period. When aged between 15-24, young people may undergo

several key ‘transitional’ events, which could be interesting to explore when bound up with alcohol consumption. For instance: going to college; going to University; having a child; getting married; etc. – those not necessarily as a linear progression along such social status markers (Sichling, 2017).

I aimed for a relatively equal distribution of participants between both suburban case study locations, resulting in 19 young people taking part from Wythenshawe, and 21 young people participating from Chorlton. Further, slightly more young women ended up taking part in the study (eight young men, and 11 young women in Wythenshawe, and eight young men and 13 young women from Chorlton). There was an even distribution of participants aged between 15-18, 19-21, and 22-24. The young people in my study varied significantly in the social class they identified with (e.g. working class, middle class, or upper class), and their educational backgrounds (e.g. no educational qualifications, to University educated). Participants in my study were all able-bodied, predominantly heterosexual (one participant self-identified as having a lesbian identity), and predominantly white (two participants were mixed-race). Hyper-diversity in this study is interested in traditional identity markers but, more than this, my use of hyper-diversity is concerned with the diverse ways in which young people *feel* in particular drinking spaces.

I recruited the majority of participants through gatekeepers at, what may be considered hyper-diverse spaces, for instance: local schools, community organisations, youth clubs and universities (Wessendorf, 2013) in, and in close proximity to, the case study locations. I also distributed flyers and business cards to houses and businesses in both case study locations; posted on online discussion forums concerning Chorlton and Wythenshawe; used Twitter to tweet about recruitment; and posted on Facebook groups interested in the two areas. Further, I arranged to be interviewed by the morning host of a local community radio station, Wythenshawe FM 97.2, in order to broaden my recruitment strategies.

229 The research was conducted by offering participants a choice of '*opting into*' (Leyshon, 2002,
230 p.182, emphasis in original) a 'palette of interdisciplinary methods' (Mason, 2006, p.13). In
231 this paper, I draw on data arising from the following methods: interviews, peer interviews,
232 drawing elicitation interviews, and participant observation. I argue in this paper that, when
233 researching with hyper-diverse young people, it is important to offer a suite of methods that
234 enables participants to communicate with the researcher 'on their own terms' (Leyshon et al.,
235 2013, p. 180).. Each of these methods was not dependent on a minimum sample size, nor an
236 equal sample size across the case study locations (Leyshon et al., 2013). Participants opted into
237 the methods they perceived to be the most enjoyable and felt the most comfortable with - they
238 were by no means obliged to participate in all of the methods, although they were more than
239 welcome to do so. This was a research strategy successfully deployed by Leyshon (2002) in
240 his research with young people in the countryside. I now provide a brief snapshot of each of
241 these methods (see name removed for anonymity for more details).

242 One method I presented for young people to participate in, was semi-structured in-depth
243 interviews. The interview schedule covered the following themes: early experiences of alcohol
244 (for instance, the extent to which alcohol was consumed in their childhood homes; if/how they
245 were introduced to alcohol by parents/siblings/friends); present-day patterns and cultures of
246 consumption (for example, whether and what they drink; types, experiences and meanings of
247 public and domestic consumption); and wider attitudes to alcohol (including, their views of
248 health issues; and use of alcohol in their community). I was flexible with this method, allowing
249 some participants to take part with friends if they felt happier doing so. The interviews took
250 place in spaces both myself and participants felt safe and comfortable in, including: private
251 rooms in schools; cafes; and homes. My experience of using interviews, in line with Fox and
252 Alldred (2015), is that they can identify affective bodily capacities.

253 The research process facilitated diverse encounters between participants and myself (see Neal
254 et al., 2015). To expand, my positionality as a White, then 24-year-old, female, university
255 educated researcher, meant that interviews became spaces of hyper-diversity with my
256 differently positioned participants in terms of gender, education, age, and alcohol consumption
257 practices and experiences. Whilst, with participants of the same / similar age, I was positioned
258 as somewhat of an ‘insider’, with younger participants, especially, I was positioned as an
259 ‘outsider’ (Skelton, 2008). It is for this reason that I adopted the method of peer-interviews.
260 Peer interviews involve young people interviewing a friend of a similar age. This method
261 acknowledges that young people’s experiences of spaces and places differ from those of adults
262 (Schäfer and Yarwood, 2008). Young people are suitable for conducting peer interviews
263 because they speak the same language as other young people (Kilpatrick et al., 2007).

264 Another method I presented for young people to ‘opt into’ was a drawing-elicitation interview.
265 For this, I provided young people with a blank sheet of A3 paper and a pack of colouring felt
266 tip pens and some pencils. I asked the participants to draw free-hand sketch-maps of their
267 drinking spaces and places. Discussions of their maps enabled participants to look back on their
268 productions reflexively, along with giving them an additional medium through which to
269 express their thoughts (Lehman-Frisch et al., 2012). The drawing-elicitation interview was
270 useful in gaining insight into young people’s alcohol-related micro-geographies, and insight
271 into their inclusion and exclusion from particular spaces. Further, participant observation, in
272 which I accompanied groups of young people on a variety of nights out, and in, involving
273 alcohol (e.g. 18th birthday party, pre-drinks at home, nights out in parks), was beneficial in not
274 only seeing, but also *feeling*, the role of atmospheres in shaping young people’s alcohol-related
275 embodied and emotional im/mobilities.

276 I transcribed, verbatim, interview material and field notes. When analysing drawings, I placed
277 emphasis on the narratives of participants accompanying their pictures, in the form of drawing

elicitation interviews. This chimes with Barker and Smith's (2012) contention that the interpretation of images should be undertaken with participants to ensure that their intended meanings are explored, rather than interpretive meanings imposed by the researcher. For all the data, I adopted the manual method of coding by pen and paper, perceiving that computer-assisted qualitative data analysis distances researchers from the data (Davis & Meyer, 2009). Initially, following Miles and Huberman's (1994) three-stage model, I exercised a process of data reduction; I organised the mass of data and attempted to meaningfully reduce this. Second, I undertook a process of data display in the form of a table. Third, I undertook a process of conclusion drawing and verification. Participants feature in this paper through pseudonyms, as do names of bars/pubs and roads, to conceal participants' identities. Yet, to contextualise quotations, genuine ages and case study locations are given. Having discussed the methods underpinning the study, I now explore young people's hyper-diverse drinking spaces.

Result and Discussion

Hyper-Diverse Drinking Spaces

There are important sensory and material constituents of drinking spaces and places, which must be taken into account when theorising hyper-diversity (Witten et al., 2017). That is, whilst young people undertake 'borderwork' to distinguish themselves from certain 'types' of people frequenting commercial premises (in terms of age, gender, and class) (Foster and Spencer, 2013), young people also contend that encounters with multi-sensory materialities have the ability to pull them out of place (see also Neal et al., 2015; Taylor and Falconer, 2015):

Teresa: I'd go to pubs and stuff like that cos I can get in The Otter but I just sit there and I just think, well I can have more fun at home, do you know what I mean?

Joanna: I think The Otter smells like old men, and the pool table's like wonky, so all the balls go to one side

(Teresa and Joanna, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

I went to that Tantra [pub] one once and that was well scary. It's a bit council housey, council house people would go there I think. I just met some friends there once and yeah, it smelt like, you know like proper horrible lager. I can't cope with it. I like pubs that smell like not like they're pubs really, no I wouldn't go somewhere like that

(Coral, 24, Chorlton, interview)

Young people in my study, above the UK legal drinking age of 18, note that they would consume alcohol in suburban bars/ pubs if they were seeking 'quiet night out', whereas they would drink in the city-centre if they wished to go 'out out'; that is, on a 'big night out'. In comparison to city-centres, suburban drinking can provide a more relaxed drinking environment, which is less likely to be associated with intoxication (see details removed for anonymity for more details). Yet, young people also expressed disapproval of some suburban commercial drinking spaces. The exchange above, between Teresa and Joanna, highlights the importance of the olfactory elements of drinking spaces in Wythenshawe, along with the significance of material constituents, such as the pool table, in repelling them from such spaces. Further, Coral describes the sensory atmosphere of a pub in Chorlton that accommodates, what she describes as, 'council house people'. Coral exercises her 'middle-class gaze' (Skeggs and Loveday, 2012, p. 487) and reveals her anxieties about consuming alcohol in this pub through statements of symbolic distinction: 'council house people', designed to hold the working-class at a physical and metaphorical distance. Unlike these 'council house people', Coral is put off by the smell of the pub, and is thus secure in her boundaries that she is not them (see Taylor and Falconer, 2015). Smell then, 'is held to signal a dangerous proximity, which must then be guarded against, since to do otherwise would be to threaten the stability of middle-class claims of respectability' (Lawler, 2005, p. 440). Here, middle-classness relies on the expulsion and exclusion of working-classness (Lawler, 2005). The above accounts point to the importance of more nuanced understandings of hyper-diversity, which do not downplay the importance of traditional identity markers (for instance, age, class, and gender), but see them as entangled with more embodied and emotional aspects (see Neal et al., 2015).

Much of the existing literature (e.g. Tyler, 2008) is concerned with how moral judgments about the working-class are used to justify socio-spatial processes of exclusion (Valentine and Harris, 2014). However, my findings also show how working-class participants position the middle-class, resulting in segregation. Throughout a drawing elicitation interview, working-class Jemima distinguished herself from the ‘posh’ people at ‘Rach’s party’, explaining to me that she had to remove her shoes at the door, and that the young men at the party took more pride in their appearance than she did (see Figure 1):

Figure 1: Jemima’s Night Out

351 Here, Jemima perceives her socio-economic situation in relation to others (Sutton, 2009);
352 whilst she did not refer to herself as 'rich' or 'poor', she acknowledged social differences
353 through her discussion of others at Rach's party as 'posh'. Consequently, Jemima chose to
354 retreat to the space of the street, making a 'spliff'ⁱⁱⁱ as she walks home. Here, the street can be
355 seen as a 'thirdspace'; it acts as 'a marginal space for young people, a place they can occupy
356 by default, as they lack the power to control other spaces' (Matthews et al., 2000, p. 63;71). It
357 allows Jemima to 'stand apart' from the posh people at Rach's house party; she shows signs of
358 'separatedness' (Matthews et al., 2000, p. 77) by smoking - something she considers would
359 have been unacceptable inside. Here then, Jemima dealt with difference by avoidance, rather
360 than engagement (Wessendorf, 2013). Against the 'contact hypothesis'^{iv} then (see Putnam,
361 2007), contact with people 'unlike us'; that is, of a different class, does not mean we necessarily
362 overcome our initial hesitation to the different 'other'. Jemima's account instead lends credence
363 to the 'conflict theory'^v, which suggests that being brought into physical proximity with people
364 of another background (in this case class), the more we stick to 'our own' (Putnam, 2007, p.
365 142).

366 Supporting findings in literature internationally (e.g. Galloway et al., 2007; Perez-Fragero,
367 2008), my study shows that streets are important places for young people - particularly those
368 below the legal drinking age - to consume alcohol and, particularly for young people in
369 Wythenshawe, to take drugs. Young people did not solely drink in streets due to an absence of
370 anywhere else to go; streets had a distinct appeal as spaces to consume alcohol. Not all young
371 people spoke highly of the outdoor spaces as drinkscapes, however (Townshend and Roberts,
372 2013). Some young people expressed disapproval towards the identities of those drinking in
373 parks. This demonstrates that spaces are not experienced in the same way everywhere, by
374 everyone (Witten et al., 2017). See the quotations below:

I'm not one of those people to drink in a park. I've never wanted to. I mean, if friends have I've not joined in. I prefer to drink at a house or a party, it's not as chavvy. You look a bit of an idiot drinking in a park

(Peter, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

When I was in Year 10, 11 everyone was like "are you coming to this park to get drunk?" I was like "no". It's stupid, why would you want to drink outdoors, in the cold, at night - you can't see anything. I don't see much point in drinking outdoors, unless it's in the safety of someone's back garden, then no

(Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

Peter mobilises the figure of the 'chav' - a term often used to demean an individual or group, often to express class-based disgust (Tyler, 2008). However, here, the term is used by a participant who is working-class, to express a critical attitude to others of his social status - those who consume alcohol in parks (Valentine & Harris, 2014). Peter and Olivia distinguish themselves from the 'idiotic' and 'stupid' people consuming alcohol in parks, which they perceive as inferior to them. Peter and Olivia then, expressed their identity through processes of inclusion and exclusion, stereotyping and stigmatisation. What is striking in the above quotations, is how parks often elicited intense emotions. These expressions of disapproval for park spaces often occurred across class and gender. However, for young women, more than young men, safety emerged as an important factor when choosing drinking spaces and, as Olivia suggests, parks were perceived as unsafe spaces for drinking for many young women in my study. What is also significant in the above accounts is that direct interaction is not necessary for young people's feelings of social separation – ideas and discourses surrounding spaces is enough to establish lines of disconnection. Thus, while streets and parks may be conceived as spaces for serendipitous encounters (REF), the above shows that parks are often territorialised by particular groups. This notion of social and spatial segregation also surfaced when exploring young people's im/mobilities, as I now illustrate.

Hyper-Diverse Im/Mobilities

Young people encounter multiple diversities through their everynight mobilities. Alcohol-related mobilities are sometimes characterised by power struggles and conflicts with older

404 adults, particularly for young people below the legal drinking age. The contesting interests of
405 the police and young people can be seen through the following quotations:

406 We were hearing stories of like people in our year who got drunk at the park and then
407 like the police turned up, so they all ran away and one of them like fell over and wacked
408 their head on a rock or something and got concussion or something
409 (Richard, 15, Chorlton, interview)

410 Cos we all use to live right near the park, so everyone that use to live near the local
411 park, we'd all meet up in the park and then we'd all walk down to Woodfield, which is
412 the biggest park. And the police used to come, kick us all out and we'd all go back to
413 the separate parks, and then we'd meet up again in Woodfield about an hour later, start
414 again, it was mint
415 (Alice, 17, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

416
417 From the above quotations, one can see that mixing opportunities in parks are restricted by a
418 series of policing strategies (Neal and Vincent, 2013). The clashing intergenerational mobilities,
419 highlighted by Richard and Alice, mean young people are required to create new geographies
420 through forced and adaptive mobilities (Skelton & Gough, 2013). Put another way, as parks
421 are steeped in surveillance, they function more as spaces of transit for young people (cf. Amin,
422 2002). Whilst Edensor and Bowdler (2015) contend that policing can constrain the scope for
423 playful engagement with space, the above quotations suggest that, in some respects, policing
424 enhanced playful engagement with space. Young people, rather than expressing frustration at
425 constantly being ejected from parks (Townshend & Roberts, 2013), told such stories with
426 enthusiasm, proclaiming it was 'mint', and thus can be said to have enjoyed the 'geographical
427 game of cat and mouse' (Valentine, 1996, p. 594). Young people's drinking mobilities then,
428 are intertwined with ideas surrounding separation and segregation with older adults.

429 Despite the often 'parallel lives' of different groups within the suburban case study locations,
430 meaning that they do not touch by way of meaningful interchanges (Valentine, 2008; Vertovec,
431 2007), many young people in my study exercised a respect for others in mobile spaces. To
432 expand, many young people noted that there is a 'time and place' for their alcohol consumption
433 activities, as the quotations below testify:

434 I'd drink in a taxi, not in a bus. Cos there's like, it's not really disrespectful [drinking
435 alcohol in a taxi] is it, cos like, when you're on a bus there's like loads of people and
436 you can't just, cos some people might be allergic to it, and when you're in a taxi it's
437 just like one person, and he's probably not even bothered about it. Cos all he's bothered
438 about is getting his money

439 (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

440 I went to my mate's 21st the other week...and we took a beer for the road in the taxi,
441 but I wouldn't say I would drink on a bus or anything like that. The thing about taxis,
442 you're going to know everyone in the taxi, you're not going to make anyone feel
443 uncomfortable. If someone sees a load of young people on a bus drinking they might
444 be a bit intimidated, and I don't want to put anyone in that position, so I don't drink on
445 buses, or trains or whatever

446 (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

447 Unpacking the above quotations, Rik and David contend that they would only consume alcohol
448 in the space of the taxi, rather than the bus, due to the number of people on the bus who may
449 be 'uncomfortable' with, or, as Rik puts it, 'allergic' to, their alcohol consumption practices.
450 These examples of care, concern and consideration show how young people can act in
451 courteous ways towards 'strangers' in mobile spaces (Jackson et al., 2017). Such civility
452 towards diversity is a strategy to negotiate possible tensions, rather than used as a means of
453 facilitating positive relations (Wessendorf, 2013). Nonetheless, the above extracts contrast with
454 the perception of young people in public space, for instance, as reckless binge drinkers, that
455 have come to dominate media reports and policies. Such 'hypochondriac geographies' are
456 characterised by dystopianism, and the inability to accept difference and oppositional interests
457 as creative, rather than destructive forces (Baeten, 2002, p. 103).

458 The theory of hyper-diversity is beneficial in offering a lens through which to view some
459 participants' stories, which offer a counterpoint to many of the findings in existing literature,
460 and my own experiences of commercial suburban drinking spaces, derived through participant
461 observation. For example, Tan's (2013) study of flirtatious geographies in club spaces in
462 Singapore has begun to grasp how bodies are affected by the atmospheres of club-spaces; for
463 instance, how atmospheres can enhance dancing mobilities. Further, Demant (2013) has
464 explored how nightclubs in Copenhagen allure through human-nonhuman technologies of

public intimacy. However, the extant literature has virtually ignored those who are not affected by atmospheres of club space. As Edensor and Sumartojo (2015) recognise, atmospheres can be experienced in many different ways. The divergent ways in which drinking spaces can grasp bodies in practice can be gleamed through the juxtaposition of my field diary, with Charlie's quotation:

It is interesting that, despite only having one vodka and coke, I felt drunk. Normally, I require a certain number of drinks in order to have the confidence to dance. However, tonight, being surrounded by 'other' mobile drunken bodies, the darkness of the club, and the thump of the upbeat music, increased my ability to dance uninhibited...I even found myself participating in the Gangnam Style dance^{vi} without feeling self-conscious!
(Field diary, night out with Maisy, 18, and friends, Wythenshawe)

In first and second year of Uni I would be nervous sort of throughout the whole night, and like "maybe I need to drink more to get like the rest, to get like everybody else", and it never really happened. I would like throw up in the morning, because I obviously had a lot [to drink], and would have a hangover, but I never really felt like I was in that zone, the same enjoyment that everyone else, my friends seemed to have

(Charlie, 23, Chorlton, interview)

Through my participant observation, one can see that I experienced a transformation, my body 'became' drunk, through its practices and encounters in assemblages with diverse drunken bodies, the sonic environment, and lighting in the affectively charged space (see Waitt and Stanes, 2015), ultimately I felt 'at home' in this hyper-diverse commercial drinking space (Jayne and Valentine, 2016:74). My experience of atmospheres enhancing my dancing mobilities is in stark opposition to Charlie's experiences in pre-formed nightlife spaces. Charlie contends that, despite consuming large quantities of alcohol, to the extent that he experienced the unpleasant effects of vomiting the following morning, and hangovers, he was not enveloped by the enjoyable atmosphere he saw his friends and other club-goers experiencing. This example stresses the importance of considering how sensual atmospheres do not seduce all people. As Taylor and Falconer (2015) recognise, whilst atmospheres affectively pull some people into place - those who experience disconnection - in terms of their embodied drunkenness and the space they find themselves in (MacLean and Moore, 2014), are, in effect,

496 pushed out of space. Having discussed examples of both tension and separation, and proximity
497 and consideration, concerning young people's hyper-diverse drunken mobilities, I now draw
498 this paper to a close.

499 **Concluding Remarks**

500 Throughout this paper, my contribution to understandings of young people and hyper-diversity
501 have been fourfold. First, I have moved the hyper-diversity debate beyond its preoccupation
502 with everyday experiences in the urban realm (Pyry and Tani, 2017; Tans-Kok et al., 2013),
503 to expose the heterogeneity of young people's everynight drinking experiences in the suburban
504 case study locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, with a focus on micro-geographies of bars,
505 pubs, streets, and parks. In doing so, I have highlighted that young people's perception of the
506 'classed', 'gendered', and 'aged' 'other' in both commercial drinking spaces, and outdoor
507 drinksapes, has a fundamental role to play in desires to either access certain drinking spaces,
508 or purposefully exclude themselves from such spaces. In line with Wiseman (2017), my paper
509 has highlighted the complexity of spaces of encounter; I have shown how drinking spaces are
510 spaces in which conviviality and connection, yet also tension and disgust can occur.

511 Second, I have contributed to the hyper-diversity literature by moving beyond a concentration
512 on traditional identity categories to afford attention to the nuances of young people's identities
513 (Wiseman, 2017). That is, I have shown how the traditional identity markers of class, gender
514 and age are entangled with more performative, emotive, and materialised markers. This paper
515 has demonstrated that the conceptual framework of hyper-diversity offers a tentative
516 explanation of how drinking spaces can evoke a very specific set of emotional and affective
517 registers, which vary greatly between individuals (Jayne et al., 2010). That is, whilst some
518 young people are enveloped by enjoyable affective atmospheres in drinking spaces, others are
519 affectively pushed out of space. My paper thus joins a small body of work (e.g. Pyry and Tani,

2017) in recognising that hyper-diversity is more-than-human, comprised of human practices, along with objects and sensory atmospheres.

Third, whilst much of the extant hyper-diversity literature has considered spaces as static and bounded, my paper has addressed Warren's (2017) call for a greater understanding of the ways in which everyday mobilities and diversity interpenetrate each other. I have demonstrated how young people's drinking mobilities are intertwined with ideas surrounding separation and segregation with older adults. I have also exposed young people's attempts to be civil towards diversity in mobile spaces, when bound up with alcohol consumption, in order to negotiate possible tensions.

Finally, I have demonstrated the benefits of offering hyper-diverse young people a palette of interdisciplinary methods to 'opt into'. Combining oral, drawing, and observational methods, enabled hyper-diverse young people to communicate with me in whichever way(s) they felt most comfortable and confident with. To conclude, I urge researchers to engage, in a methodologically innovative manner, with the alcohol-related im/mobilities of a sample of young people that accommodates for the diversity and nondualistic heterogeneity of bodily forms and abilities in society (Andrews et al., 2012). Research is yet to engage with the alcohol-related im/mobilities of other groups around race, ethnicity, religion and sexuality; doing so could further extend understandings of hyper-diversity.

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ⁱ I use the term 'everynight' purposefully, inspired by Malbon (1999).

ⁱⁱ *Shameless* is a British adult comedy-drama series set in Manchester, centred on British working-class culture.

ⁱⁱⁱ A 'spliff' is a cannabis cigarette.

^{iv} Allport (1954) is often credited with the development of the contact hypothesis, a theory stating that under appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways of reducing prejudice between majority and minority group members.

^v Conflict theory is associated with Karl Marx (1818-1883). The theory is based on the notion that society is in a state of perpetual conflict, due to competition for limited resources. The theory asserts that social order is maintained by power and domination, as opposed to conformity and consensus.

^{vi} A pop single by the South Korean musician Psy, released in 2012, renowned for the choreography and moves in its music video, including gallop, lasso, leg sweep, flick, shuffle, pop and pose.